

METAPHYSICS IN KÖNIGSBERG PRIOR TO KANT (1703-1770)

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ABSTRACT: The present contribute aims to reconstruct, using the methodology of intellectual history, the broad spectrum of metaphysical doctrines that Kant could know during the years of the formation of his philosophy. The first part deals with the teaching of metaphysics in Königsberg from 1703 to 1770. The second part examines the main characteristics of the metaphysics in the various handbooks, which were taught at the *Albertina*, in order to have an exhaustive overview of all metaphysical positions.

KEYWORDS: Metaphysics. Eclecticism. Wolffianism. Aristotelianism. Kant. Königsberg. *Quellengeschichte*.

1 Introduction

The *Kant-Forschung* has never paid a lot of attention to the reconstruction of the Kantian philosophy beginning from the cultural background of Königsberg's university. Working on Königsberg's framework

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does not mean to deal with Kant's biography, but to understand if and how the cultural context, in which he grew up, had influenced his philosophical perspectives particularly in the metaphysical field. In fact, according to Giorgio Tonelli, who wrote the only meaningful investigation in this sense (TONELLI, 1975), the Albertina was a battlefield between philosophical and religious positions that determined decisively Kant's development. Tonelli, unfortunately, had no the *Vorlesungsverzeichnisse* available, which have been rediscovered by Riccardo Pozzo two decades ago and which shed light upon the conditions in Königsberg and the making of Kant's philosophy in three crucial moments: 1) from 1703 to 1740, before Kant's matriculation; 2) from 1740 to 1746, when Kant was a university student; 3) from 1746 to 1770, when he was lecturer at the Albertina.

The present contribute aims to reconstruct the broad spectrum of metaphysical doctrines that Kant could know during the years of the formation of his philosophy.

The first part, following the methodology of the new edition of the *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* and of the *Quellengeschichte*,¹ deals with the teaching of metaphysics in Königsberg from 1703 to 1770, using the unpublished materials of the *Ratio praelectionum (1703-1719)*.² The second part examines the definition, the subject, and the division of metaphysics in the various handbooks, which were taught at the *Albertina*, in order to have an exhaustive overview of all metaphysical positions.

2 The teaching of metaphysics in Königsberg

A fruitful approach to study metaphysics in Königsberg between 1703 to 1770 is to reconstruct the history of the chair of "logic and metaphysics". The chair was founded in 1552 and it was simply of "dialectics", as it was usual in that epoch when metaphysics was incorporated into logic and the metaphysical problems were investigated in theology (POZZO, 2004). During the 17th century the chair became of "logic" and then of "logic and metaphysics". From its foundation the chair was occupied by Nikolaus Jagenteufel (1552-1567), Martin Lauben (1569-1578), Michael Scrinius (1579-

¹ The *Quellengeschichte* focuses its attention on six issues to reconstruct Kantian philosophy: 1) the statement of Kant; 2) the references in the *Briefwechsel* and in the *Nachlass*; 3) the references in other authors; 4) university professors; 5) the textbooks at the Albertina; 6) the intellectual background of Königsberg (HINSKE, 2006). This paper deals particularly with the last three issues.

² I am preparing a critical edition of *Königsberg's Ratio praelectionum (1703-1719)*.

1585), Lorenz Pantän (1585-1589), Martin Winter (1589-1595), Johann Geldern (1595-1620), Georg Crusius (1621-1625), Levin Pouchen (1626), Lorenz Weger (1626-1629), Micheal Eifler (1630-1657), Melchior Zeidler (1658-1663), Lambert Steger (1663-1667), and Andreas Hedio (1667-1703) (PISANSKI, 1886, p. 149, 291).

Many of these professors were extremely important for the history of Königsberg's university and for the development of the *Schulphilosophie* in Germany. For example Crusius was the first to introduce the Suárez's metaphysics at the Albertina, Calov invented the new sciences of *gnostologia*, *noologia*, and *methodologia*, contributing also to the development of the ontology, Zeidler imported Jacopo Zabarella's methodological works and Hedio wrote the most exhaustive and extensive commentary to Aristotle's *Organon* of the 17th century. These few examples show how much the chair was characterized by Aristotelianism and Scholastic philosophy.

This is the framework within it is necessary to contextualize the first professor of logic and metaphysics of the 18th century: Paul Rabe (SGARBI, 2009a). Rabe was professor of logic and metaphysics from 1703 until his death in 1713. His main contribute in the field of metaphysics is *Cursus philosophicus, seu Compendium praecipuarum scientiarum philosophicarum, Dialecticae nempe, Analyticae, Politicae, sub qua comprehenditur Ethica, Physicae atque Metaphysicae*. After Rabe, Johann Böse was professor of logic and metaphysics from 1713 to 1719, but he never wrote on metaphysical topics. From 1715 to 1725 Heinrich Oelmann was associate professor of logic and metaphysics. He is important because was the first to lecture Wolffian metaphysics in Königsberg. After Rabe, the most important Aristotelian was Johann Jakob Rohde, who was professor of logic and metaphysics from 1720 to 1727. He was Aristotelian during all his life, teaching Aristotelian metaphysics, as the academic program *Meditatione philosophica qua Aristotelica sapientissimus de veritate iudice* shows (ROHDE, 1722). Another important Aristotelian and a pupil of Rabe was Johann David Kypke, who had the chair of logic and metaphysics from 1725 to 1758, and also hosted Kant for a while in his house.³ From 1728 to 1729 the Aristotelian Johann Gottfried Teske, who was extremely close to Kant, became associate professor of logic and metaphysics. After Teske, the future theologian Daniel Lorenz Salthenius was associate professor of logic and metaphysics between 1729 and 1732. He was usual to teach and comment the Aristotelian works during his lectures. From 1732 to 1733 Johann Georg Bock, one of the most important aestheticians of his time, had the chair

³ Records are extremely ambiguous, and some believe he lodged with Kypke's nephew, Johann Georg. Anyway the important thing is that Kant was familiar with Kypke's house.

of logic and metaphysics, which was subsequently occupied in 1733 by the eclectic Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt, who was Kant's professor of mathematics.⁴ From 1734 to 1751 Martin Knutzen, who was Kant's mentor, became associate professor of logic and metaphysics. After Kypke's death, Friedrich Johann Buck became from 1759 to 1770 had the chair until Kant replaced him.

For an exhaustive investigation on Königsberg's metaphysical background it is necessary to consider also the teachings at the Albertina in order to understand the main trends and influences of the period and the various changes during times.

Before to analyze the teaching of metaphysics in each semester, it is important to recall that in Königsberg in order to be admitted to the faculty of theology it was required to complete the whole *cursus philosophicus*, which was composed by six different philosophical disciplines: 1) dialectics; 2) analytics; 3) ethics; 4) politics; 5) physics; 6) metaphysics (ERDMANN, 1876, p. 21). This *cursus* could be taught on different handbooks (POZZO, 1991, p. 75), even if the more suitable handbook for this kind of teaching was Rabe's *Cursus philosophicus* (SGARBI, 2009a, p. 276-278). In fact, it was highly recommended to the students of theology, law, and medicine as its subtitle says explicitly – “in superioribus Facultatibus usui esse potest in Theologia nempe, Jurisprudentia et Medicina” – and it was divided in dialectics, analytics, ethics, politics, natural philosophy and metaphysics. The fortune of this handbook is testified by the publication in 1716 of its companion *Philosophia propaedeutica sive Philosophiae Fundamenta praerequisita, ad ductum et methodum Cursus Philosophici b. Professoris Raben in tres tomos iuxta triplicem Philosophiam breviter et perspicue distributa* (PISANSKI, 1886, p. 529). It is reasonable to suppose that Rabe's *Cursus* was for its propaedeuticity and officiality the reference handbook of the *cursus philosophicus*. Other possible handbooks to study the *cursus* were Franz Albert Aepinus's *Introductio in philosophiam*, Ludwig Thümmig's *Institutiones philosophiae wolfianae*, Johann Georg Walch's *Introductio in Philosophiam*, Johann Christoph Gottsched's *Erste Gründe der gesamten Weltweisheit*, Christian Friedrich Ammon's *Lineae primae eruditionis humanae*. Only occasionally the *cursus philosophicus* was taught on the five Wolffian manuals: *Vernünfftige Gedanken von den Kräfte[n] des menschlichen Verstandes und ihrem richtigen Gebrauch in Erkenntniß der Wahrheit*; *Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt*; *Vernünfftige Gedanken von der Menschen Thun und Lassen*; *Vernünfftige Gedanken von*

⁴ Pisanski characterizes Marquardt as an Aristotelian, while Tonelli and Rumore as a Wolffian. Probably he was an Eclectic (PISANSKI, 1886, p. 532).

dem gesellschaftlichen Leben der Menschen und insonderheit dem gemeinen Wesen; Vernünftige Gedanken von der Würckungen der Natur. All these handbooks, however, did not encompass all the *cursus philosophicus* as the Rabe's *Cursus* did.

Lectures on Metaphysics (1703-1770)

(ns) = the handbook for the lectures on metaphysics is not specified.

(cp) = *cursus philosophicus*, when there is also (ns) or a handbook, it means that besides the teaching of metaphysics, it was taught also the *cursus philosophicus*, which could include also lectures on metaphysics.

(p) = probable, when it is not specified but it is possible to deduce it from the *Vorlesungsverzeichnisse* or from previous lectures.

Professors	Winter Semester 1703/1704
Paul Rabe	Abraham Calov, <i>Metaphysica divina</i> , Hallervord, Rostock 1640. (p)

Professors	Summer Semester 1704
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

Professors	Winter Semester 1704/1705
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

Professors	Summer Semester 1704
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

Professors	Summer Semester 1705
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

Professors	Winter Semester 1705/1706
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

Summer Semester 1706	
There were not lectures on metaphysics in this semester	

Winter Semester 1706/1707	
There were not lectures on metaphysics in this semester	

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1707</i>
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1707/1708</i>
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1708</i>
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1708/1709</i>
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1709</i>
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1709/1710</i>
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1710</i>
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1710/1711</i>
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1711</i>
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1711/1712</i>
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1712</i>
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1712/1713</i>
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1713</i>
Paul Rabe	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1713/1714</i>
Johann Böse	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1714</i>
Johann Böse	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1714/1715</i>
Johann Böse	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (c)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1715</i>
Hieronymus Georgi	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)
Heinrich Oelmann	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1715/1716</i>
Hieronymus Georgi	Hieronymus Georgi, <i>Philosophia propaedeutica sive Philosophiae Fundamenta praerequisita, ad ductum et methodum Cursus Philosophici b. Professoris Raben in tres tomos iuxta triplicem Philosophiam breviter et perspicue distributa</i> , Georgi, Königsberg 1716.
Heinrich Oelmann	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1716</i>
Heinrich Oelmann	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)
Micheal Gehrke	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1716/1717</i>
Hieronymus Georgi	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)
Heinrich Oelmann	Abraham Calov, <i>Metaphysica divina</i> , Hallervord, Rostock 1640.
Micheal Gehrke	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)

<i>Summer Semester 1717</i>	
There were not lectures on metaphysics in this semester	

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1717/1718</i>
Micheal Gehrke	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)
Heinrich Oelmann	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1718</i>
Heinrich Oelmann	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1718/1719</i>
Micheal Gehrke	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1719</i>
Heinrich Oelmann	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1719/1720</i>
Micheal Gehrke	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1720</i>
Johann Jakob Rohde	Johann Franz Budde, <i>Elementa philosophiae theoreticae</i> , Orphanotrophii, Halle 1703. (p)
Heinrich Oelmann	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)
Micheal Gehrke	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)
Georg Heinrich Rast	(ns), (cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1720/1721</i>
Johann Jakob Rohde	Friedrich Gentzen, <i>Doctrina universalium quam vocant Metaphysicam</i> , Reumann, Kilon 1720.
Christian Gabriel Fischer	Johann Franz Budde, <i>Elementa philosophiae theoreticae</i> , Orphanotrophii, Halle 1703.
Micheal Gehrke	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)
Heinrich Oelmann	Johann Franz Budde, <i>Elementa philosophiae theoreticae</i> , Orphanotrophii, Halle 1703. (cp)
Georg Heinrich Rast	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1721</i>
Johann Jakob Rohde	Christian Thomasius, <i>Introductio in philosophiam aulicam</i> , Thomasius, Leipzig 1688. Johann Franz Budde, <i>Elementa philosophiae theoreticae</i> , Orphanotrophii, Halle 1703.
Heinrich Oelmann	Christian Wolff, <i>Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt</i> , Renger, Halle 1719.

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1721/1722</i>
Johann Jakob Rohde	(ns) ⁵
Heinrich Oelmann	Christian Thomasius, <i>Einleitung zur Hoff-Philosophie</i> , Bauren, Frankfurt 1710.

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1722</i>
Heinrich Oelmann	Christian Thomasius, <i>Einleitung zur Hoff-Philosophie</i> , Bauren, Frankfurt 1710. Christian Wolff, <i>Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt</i> , Renger, Halle 1719. (cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1722/1723</i>
Heinrich Oelmann	Christian Wolff, <i>Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt</i> , Renger, Halle 1719.

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1723</i>
Johann Jakob Rohde	(ns)
Heinrich Oelmann	Christian Wolff, <i>Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt</i> , Renger, Halle 1719.

⁵ Rohde taught beginning from February 1722 Aristotelian metaphysics as his *Einladungsschrift* shows (ROHDE, 1722).

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1723/1724</i>
Johann Jakob Rohde	Johann Franz Budde, <i>Theses theologicae de atheismo et superstitione</i> , Bielck, Jena 1717.
Heinrich Oelmann	Christian Wolff, <i>Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt</i> , Renger, Halle 1719. Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1724</i>
Johann Jakob Rohde	Johann Franz Budde, <i>Theses theologicae de atheismo et superstitione</i> , Bielck, Jena 1717.
Heinrich Oelmann	Christian Wolff, <i>Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt</i> , Renger, Halle 1719. Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)
Thomas Burckhard	Franz Albert Aepinus, <i>Metaphysicae ad theologiam applicata</i> , Garmann, Rostock 1710.

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1724/1725</i>
Heinrich Oelmann	Christian Wolff, <i>Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt</i> , Renger, Halle 1719. Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)
Thomas Burckhard	Franz Albert Aepinus, <i>Metaphysicae ad theologiam applicata</i> , Garmann, Rostock 1710.

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1725</i>
Johann Jakob Rohde	Abraham Calov, <i>Scripta philosophica</i> , Wilden, Lübeck 1651. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1725/1726</i>
Johann Jakob Rohde	Abraham Calov, <i>Scripta philosophica</i> , Wilden, Lübeck 1651. (p)
Thomas Burckhard	Franz Albert Aepinus, <i>Introductio in philosophiam</i> , Wilde, Rostock 1714.

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1726</i>
Johann David Kypke	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1726/1727</i>
Thomas Burckhard	Franz Albert Aepinus, <i>Introductio in philosophiam</i> , Wilde, Rostock 1714.
Georg Friedrich Rogall	Christian Wolff, <i>Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt</i> , Renger, Halle 1719.

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1727</i>
Thomas Burckhard	Franz Albert Aepinus, <i>Introductio in philosophiam</i> , Wilde, Rostock 1714. (p)
Georg Friedrich Rogall	Christian Wolff, <i>Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt</i> , Renger, Halle 1719.
Johann David Kypke	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1727/1728</i>
Thomas Burckhard	Franz Albert Aepinus, <i>Introductio in philosophiam</i> , Wilde, Rostock 1714. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1728</i>
Thomas Burckhard	Franz Albert Aepinus, <i>Introductio in philosophiam</i> , Wilde, Rostock 1714. (p)

<i>Winter Semester 1728/1729</i>	
There were not lectures on metaphysics in this semester	

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1729</i>
Johann David Kypke	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)

<i>Winter Semester 1729/1730</i>	
There were not lectures on metaphysics in this semester	

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1730</i>
Daniel Salthenius	Christian Dreier, <i>Sapientia sive philosophia prima</i> , Hendel, Königsberg 1644. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1730/1731</i>
Johann David Kypke	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1731</i>
Johann David Kypke	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p) Johann Georg Walch, <i>Introductio in Philosophiam</i> , Gleditsch, Leipzig 1730. Johann Franz Budde, <i>Elementa philosophiae theoreticae</i> , Orphanotrophii, Halle 1703. (cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1731/1732</i>
Daniel Heinrich Arnoldt	(ns), (cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1732</i>
Thomas Burckhard	(cp)
Karl Heinrich Rappolt	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1732/1733</i>
Thomas Burckhard	(cp)
Daniel Heinrich Arnoldt	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1733</i>
Daniel Heinrich Arnoldt	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1733/1734</i>
Johann David Kypke	(ns)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1734</i>
Johann David Kypke	(ns)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1734/1735</i>
Johann David Kypke	(ns)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1735</i>
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1735/1736</i>
Thomas Burckhard	Samuel Christian Hollmann, <i>In universam philosophiam introductio</i> , Henning, Wittenberg 1734.
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1736</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	Ludwig Thümmig, <i>Institutiones philosophiae wolfianae</i> , Renger, Frankfurt 1725-1726.
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	Christian Wolff, <i>Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt</i> , Renger, Halle 1719.
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1736/1737</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1737</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1737/1738</i>
Thomas Burckhard	Johann Franz Budde, <i>Elementa philosophiae theoreticae</i> , Orphanotrophii, Halle 1703. (p)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1738</i>
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1738/1739</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)
Adam Gregorovious	The <i>Vorlesungsverzeichnisse</i> lists a book <i>Prolegomena</i> by Andreas Hedio, which, however, does not exist.

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1739</i>
Johann David Kypke	(ns)
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1739/1740</i>
Thomas Burckhard	Johann Franz Budde, <i>Elementa philosophiae theoreticae</i> , Orphanotrophii, Halle 1703. (p)
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1740</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(ns), (cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1740/1741</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1741</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738.
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1741/1742</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1742</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1742/1743</i>
Thomas Burckhard	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1743</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738.
Karl Heinrich Rappolt	Ludwig Thümmig, <i>Institutiones philosophiae wolfianae</i> , Renger, Frankfurt 1725-1726.
Martin Knutzen	(cp)
Karl Andreas Christiani	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738.

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1743/1744</i>
Thomas Burckhard	Paul Rabe, <i>Cursus philosophicus</i> , Boye, Königsberg 1703. (p)
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1744</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738.
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Karl Heinrich Rappolt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1744/1745</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1745</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)
Karl Heinrich Rappolt	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1745/1746</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1746</i>
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(ns)
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1746/1747</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns) (cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)
Karl Heinrich Rappolt	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1747</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(ns), (cp)
Karl Heinrich Rappolt	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1747/1748</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1748</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)
Coelestin Christian	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1748/1749</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)
Konrad Gottlieb Marquardt	(cp)
Martin Knutzen	(ns)
Karl Heinrich Rappolt	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1749</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)
Coelestin Christian Flottwell	(ns)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1749/1750</i>
Martin Knutzen	(cp)
Coelestin Christian Flottwell	Johann Christoph Gottsched, <i>Erste Gründe der gesamten Weltweisheit</i> , Breitkopf, Leipzig 1733-1734.

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1750</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)
Martin Knutzen	(cp)
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1750/1751</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Coelestin Christian Flottwell	Johann Christoph Gottsched, <i>Erste Gründe der gesamten Weltweisheit</i> , Breitkopf, Leipzig 1733-1734. (p)
Martin Knutzen	(ns), (cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1751</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)
Coelestin Christian Flottwell	Johann Christoph Gottsched, <i>Erste Gründe der gesamten Weltweisheit</i> , Breitkopf, Leipzig 1733-1734.
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1751/1752</i>
Coelestin Christian Flottwell	Johann Christoph Gottsched, <i>Erste Gründe der gesamten Weltweisheit</i> , Breitkopf, Leipzig 1733-1734.
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1752</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738.
Coelestin Christian Flottwell	(ns)
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Henrich Wilhelm Johanssen	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1752/1753</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1753</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738.
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns)
Karl Heinrich Rappolt	Ludwig Thümmig, <i>Institutiones philosophiae wolfianae</i> , Renger, Frankfurt 1725-1726.
Friedrich Johann Buck	Christian Wolff, <i>Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt</i> , Renger, Halle 1719.

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1754</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Friedrich Johann Buck	(ns), (cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1754/1755</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738.
Coelestin Christian Flottwell	(ns)
Georg David Kypke	(ns), (cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1755</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Coelestin Christian Flottwell	(ns), (cp)
Georg David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738.
Friedrich Johann Buck	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1755/1756</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738.
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Friedrich Johann Buck	(ns), (cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1756</i>
Johann Friedrich Werner	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738.
Coelestin Christian Flottwell	(ns)
Friedrich Johann	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1756/1757</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)
Coelestin Christian Flottwell	(ns), (cp)
Friedrich Johann Buck	(ns)
Matthias Friedrich Watson	Alexander G. Baumgarten, <i>Metaphysica</i> , Hemmerde, Halle 1739. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1757</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns)
Coelestin Christian Flottwell	(ns)
Friedrich Johann Buck	(ns)
Matthias Friedrich Watson	Christian Friedrich Ammon, <i>Lineae primae eruditionis humanae</i> , Reusner, Königsberg 1737.
Heinrich Oelmann	

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1757/1758</i>
Johann David Kypke	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)
Matthias Friedrich Watson	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738.

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1758</i>
Matthias Friedrich Watson	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738.

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1758/1759</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Coelestin Christian Flottwell	(ns)
Matthias Friedrich Watson	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1759</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Friedrich Johann Buck	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1759/1760</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Friedrich Johann Buck	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1760</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Friedrich Johann Buck	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1760/1761</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Friedrich Johann Buck	Alexander G. Baumgarten, <i>Metaphysica</i> , Hemmerde, Halle 1739. Christian August Crusius, <i>Entwurf der nothwendigen Vernunft-Wahrheiten</i> , Gledtisch, Leipzig 1745.

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1761</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Friedrich Johann Buck	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1761/1762</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Friedrich Johann	Christian August Crusius, <i>Entwurf der nothwendigen Vernunft-</i>

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1762/1763</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Friedrich Johann Buck	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1763</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Friedrich Johann Buck	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1763/1764</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Friedrich Johann Buck	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1764</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Friedrich Johann Buck	(ns)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1764/1765</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(ns), (cp)
Friedrich Johann Buck	(ns)

<i>Summer Semester 1765</i>	
There were not lectures on metaphysics in this semester	

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1765/1766</i>
Karl Andreas	(ns), (cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1767</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)
Friedrich Johann Buck	Christian August Crusius, <i>Entwurf der nothwendigen Vernunft-Wahrheiten</i> , Gledtisch, Leipzig 1745. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1767/1768</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)
Friedrich Johann Buck	Christian August Crusius, <i>Entwurf der nothwendigen Vernunft-Wahrheiten</i> , Gledtisch, Leipzig 1745. (p)

<i>Summer Semester 1768</i>	
There were not lectures on metaphysics in this semester	

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1768/1769</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)
Friedrich Johann Buck	Christian August Crusius, <i>Entwurf der nothwendigen Vernunft-Wahrheiten</i> , Gledtisch, Leipzig 1745. (p)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Summer Semester 1769</i>
Karl Andreas Christiani	(cp)

<i>Professors</i>	<i>Winter Semester 1769/1770</i>
Karl Andreas Christian	Friedrich Christian Baumeister, <i>Institutiones metaphysicae</i> , Zimmermann, Wittenberg 1738. (p)
Friedrich Johann Buck	Christian August Crusius, <i>Entwurf der nothwendigen Vernunft-Wahrheiten</i> , Gledtisch, Leipzig 1745. (p)

3 The Nature of Metaphysics

In order to understand the various metaphysical trends in Königsberg prior 1770 and to assess their impact upon Kant, it is essential a careful examination of the main characteristics of each metaphysics. Here I consider only the meaningful handbooks on metaphysics, which were usually taught in Königsberg's university and were adopted for two or more semesters or were extremely relevant in the period before 1724.

Abraham Calov was the prominent metaphysician of Königsberg of the 17th century. In his book *Metaphysica divina* defines metaphysics as “scientia de ente” (CALOV, 1640, p. 4). Metaphysics is a part of a wider group of metaphysical sciences, which include: 1) gnostology; 2) noology; 3) metaphysics. Metaphysics is in turn divided in 1) general metaphysics or ontology and 2) special metaphysics. General metaphysics or ontology deals with the *ens qua ens* that in Calov corresponds to the knowable of gnostology (*cognoscibile*) (SGARBI, 2009b). Special metaphysics deals with *ens in abstractione minori*, particularly with immaterial substances and God. Calov was also the only philosopher of Königsberg to deal with transcendental philosophy before Kant. If the object of ontology was the *ens* as *cognoscibile*, the transcendental affections must refer to the *ens*, not as such, but as a knowable. According to Calov, the transcendental attributes did not denote a mere being, but a knowable, i.e., the transcendental attributes without which the knowable would not be the object of knowledge. It is evident that Calov's formulation is extremely close to the Kantian and importantly creates a shift of transcendental philosophy from the old metaphysics to the new transcendental logic. Calov's notion of transcendental, in opposition to Kant, however, instead of referring to the knowing subject, it expresses the relation between the constituent parts of the object. Nonetheless Calov's metaphysical works for its large and rapid dissemination made Königsberg a stronghold of Aristotelian-Scholastic metaphysics.

Christian Dreier's *Sapientia sive philosophia prima* differs remarkably from the other metaphysical projects of the time. In fact, instead of a new elaboration of metaphysical sciences, Dreier aims to restore a pure Aristotelian metaphysics against the Scholastic interpretation. He comments therefore prevalently the Aristotelian writings and asserts that metaphysics deals with being qua being and it is first philosophy and the most important science (DREIER, 1644, p. 38).

The last important exponent of Königsberg's Aristotelian metaphysics in the 18th century was Paul Rabe. Rabe's Aristotelianism does not focus particularly on metaphysics, which was also investigated most of the time in logical terms. Metaphysics is a part of theoretical sciences, which include

1) ontology; 2) noology; 3) pneumatology. Metaphysics has God as a proper subject (RABE, 1703, p. 1205). Ontology deals with *ens qua ens*, i.e., the being considered in a universal way (RABE, 1703, p. 1205). Pneumatology studies immaterial substances (RABE, 1703, p. 1206). Noology investigates the first principles of being qua being and it is a necessary propaedeutic science to metaphysics (RABE, 1703, p. 1206). Also his introductive works on logic were officially adopted in the *Collegium Fridericianum* and at the *Albertina* and were very widespread up to third decades of 18th century.

Franz Albert Aepinus is a typical figure of German Scholasticism, which aims to elaborate, in Suárez's wake, a neutral science, i.e. ontology, to investigate the being qua being as propaedeutic to theology, which deals with immaterial substances, God and their attributes. He was also a strong opponent of Wolffianism and his work was used in Königsberg during the epoch of transition from the conservative Aristotelian metaphysics to the new Wolffian philosophy (SPALDING, 1804, p. 4). In his book *Introductio in philosophiam*, Aepinus identifies metaphysics with transcendental philosophy, which was a synonymous of ontology. Metaphysics is defined "ontologia, seu doctrina de ente ejusque inferioribus atque affectionis" (AEPINUS, 1714, p. 2). Metaphysics is "scientia theoretica de ente ejusque inferioribus generalioribus, quatenus abstract sunt a materia sensibili realiter, et quidem permissive seu secundum indifferentiam" (AEPINUS, 1714, p. 5). Ontology is the science of "de ente ejusque generalibus inferioribus, quatenus de rebus materialibus et immaterialibus, finiti et infiniti dici possunt" (AEPINUS, 1714, p. 5). Recently the *Kant-Forschung* has focused its interest on Aepinus as Kant's source of the doctrine of transcendentals (TOMMASI, 2003), as Norbert Hinske had suggested already in 1968 (HINSKE, 1968, p. 84-85). In Königsberg Aepinus's works were taught between 1724 to 1727 by Thomas Burckhard. In his works, however, Aepinus uses the term "transcendental" as a synonymous with "transcendent", which is contrary to the meaning that occurs in Kant's writings and therefore he had not a real or at least determining influence upon the Kantian philosophy.

At the beginning of the 18th century Eclecticism became a popular philosophical movement. Eclectic philosophy generally denies the importance of metaphysics, which has usually to be subordinated to theology that possesses the real truth. For this reason Pietism supports Eclectic philosophy and during the Pietists's domain in Königsberg, metaphysics was regularly taught in the faculty of theology instead of in the faculty of philosophy. Christian Thomasius's attitude against the Aristotelian-Scholastic metaphysics is representative of the Eclectic movement. Metaphysics is "regina, sed inter illas disciplinas, quae circa falsa et erronea sunt occupatae, quae fatagunt circa commenta astutorum et toiosorum

hominum destinendis ingeniis, ne ad solidam rerum cognitionem adspirent, quae adhuc a multis mordicus retinentur, inscitia meliorum, aut quia dediscere pudet, quae jam otiose didicerunt” (THOMASIUS, 1688, p. 198). Therefore the subject of metaphysics are subtleties and otiose things and its aim is not the truth, but deceiving. According to Budde, Aristotelian metaphysics could be a science only considering the *ens qua ens* not as the *ens in abstracto*, as the *Schulmetaphysik* did, but as the *Ens primum*, the *Substantia prima*, which is God, i.e. to make of metaphysics in theology. However, there was in Königsberg a striking case in which Aristotle’s metaphysics was used to legitimize Eclectic philosophy. In his *Meditatio philosophica qua Aristotelem sapientissimum de veritate judicem*, Rohde, commenting the passage of Aristotle’s *Metaphysica* II.1 993 a 30 – “the study of truth is in one sense difficult, in another easy. This is shown by the fact that whereas no one person can obtain an adequate grasp of it, we cannot all fail in the attempt” –, affirms that the fact that no one person can fail in the attempt to discover the truth supports the Eclectic position according to which all the opinions of the past philosophers on metaphysics were important (ROHDE, 1722, p. 4).

In opposition to Aristotelian and Eclectic metaphysics was Wolffian metaphysics. Wolff developed for the first time his metaphysics in the *Vernünfftige Gedanken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt* (= *Deutsche Metaphysik*), which was published in 1719. Wolff’s metaphysics inaugurated early a new trend in Königsberg already from the summer semester 1720. In spite of this early dissemination, it is remarkable that in Königsberg only the German works of Wolff were taught and not the Latin books, as for example the *Ontologia*. In the *Deutsche Metaphysik*, Wolff does not give a definition of metaphysics, which is, however, the science that studies 1) everything is from different points of view and 2) what makes sense of it, that is God. Metaphysics is divided in: 1) ontology; 2) psychology; 3) cosmology; 4) theology.

Ludwig Thümmig’s *Institutiones philosophiae wolfianae* disseminated for the first time in Königsberg the Wolffian metaphysics in Latin. This book was very widespread in Königsberg, especially among the junior professors of the faculty, and was usual taught for the *cursus philosophicus* instead of Aristotelian and Eclectic handbooks. Thümmig defines metaphysics as “scientiam entis et mundi in genere rerumque immaterialium” (THÜMMIG, 1725-1726, p. 39). Metaphysics is divided in: 1) ontology; 2) psychology or pneumatology; 3) natural theology; 4) general cosmology. Ontology is first philosophy and is “scientia entis in genere” (THÜMMIG, 1725-1726, p. 39). General cosmology is “scientia mundi in genere” (THÜMMIG, 1725-1726, p.

71). Psychology is *scientia animae*, seu ea pars metaphysicae, quae de anima agit” (THÜMMIG, 1725-1726, p. 115). Subjects of metaphysics are therefore the being qua being, the soul, the world, and God.

Also Friedrich Christian Baumeister’s *Institutiones metaphysicae* were extremely faithful to Wolff’s metaphysics. Baumeister states that “*scientia autem universalium, sive disciplina illa, in qua notiones, a rebus indivui abstractae, et iisdem communes, distincte explicantur, generali nomine dicitur Metaphysica*” (BAUMEISTER, 1738, p. 3). Metaphysics is divided in 1) ontology; 2) cosmology; 3) psychology; 4) natural theology. Ontology or first philosophy deals with “*prima et comunissima omnis cognitionis humanae principia explicantur, item notione singularissimae et universaliores enodantur distincte et positiones, ob universalitatem suam*” (BAUMEISTER, 1738, p. 5). Cosmology deals with “*in qua de universo in genere agitur, et notionibus generalibus et abstractis de mundo explicatis, non nisi talia de mundo demonstratur quae mundo, ut enti composito et mutabili tribuuntur*” (BAUMEISTER, 1738, p. 5-6). Psychology deals with the soul in two sense: “1) ea traditi, quae per experientiam de anima nobis innotescunt; 2) ea demonstrat, quae de anima, ope ratiociniorum, ex experientiis, rite stabilitis, deductorum nosse nobis datus est” (BAUMEISTER, 1738, p. 6). Natural theology deals with “*Deo, eius existentia, attributis et operibus*” (BAUMEISTER, 1738, p. 6).

An eclectic philosopher, who was influenced by Wolffian metaphysics, was also Johann Christoph Gottsched. The first volume of his *Erste Gründe der gesamten Weltweisheit* is completely devoted to the theoretical philosophy. Theoretical philosophy or metaphysics is divided in logic (*Vernunftlehre*), ontology (*Grundlehre*), cosmology (*Weltweisheit von der Welt*), pneumatology (*Geisterlehre*) and natural theology as in all the other Wolffian companions.

It is noteworthy that all the Wolffian manuals that were usually taught at the *Albertina* did not deal with the doctrine of transcendentals, which became a central topic only in Wolff’s *Ontologia*, which, as I have just pointed out, was not a matter of teaching.

Another important metaphysical book, which is often usually understood in the light of the Wolffian metaphysics, was Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten’s *Metaphysica*. Although Baumgarten’s metaphysics seems to be very similar to Thümmig and Baumeister’s handbooks, and for its external subdivision could be also included in the Wolffian school, I want firmly to defend with Mario Casula the thesis that it was not a Wolffian (CASULA, 1973, p. 7), in fact his doctrines on being, essence and transcendentals were very different from those of the Wolffian tradition. The book is very famous

because it was Kant's favourite metaphysical treatise and was his source of many metaphysical topics as for example the doctrine of the transcendentals. Metaphysics is "scientia primorum in humana cognitione principiorum" (BAUMGARTEN, 1739, p. 1). Metaphysics is divided in 1) ontology; 2) cosmology; 3) psychology; 4) natural theology. Ontology deals with the general predicates of being; cosmology deals with the general predicates of the world either "ex experientia proprius" (*cosmologia empirica*) or "ex notione mundi" (*cosmologia rationalis*); psychology deals with the general predicates of the soul either "ex experientia proprius" (*pyschologia empirica*) or "ex notione animae" (*psychologia rationalis*); natural theology deals with the concept of God and his operations.

Among independent or eclectic positions there is Johann Georg Walch with his *Introductio in Philosophiam*. According to Walch, metaphysics is "disciplinam philosophicam, quae de notionibus rerum communibus generatim, et speciatim de substantia nobilissima; sive de Deo agit" (WALCH, 1730, p. 180). Metaphysics is divided in three parts. The first part deals with the being (*ente*) that is also called ontology, the second part with created substances, and the third part with God (WALCH, 1730, p. 181). According to the division of metaphysics, three are the proper subjects: 1) *ens* in general (WALCH, 1730, p. 182); 2) *ens* according to their *vim operandi*, i.e., as *principii* and *principiati*, as *causa* and *effectu* (WALCH, 1730, p. 189); 3) *ens per se subsistens*, which is God (WALCH, 1730, p. 196).

The most important opponent to Wolff's metaphysics was Christian August Crusius with his *Entwurf der nothwendigen Vernunft-Wahrheiten*, which Kant read carefully early in the Sixties (KGS, X, p. 32). Metaphysics, according to Crusius, is the science of the necessary truth of reason and it is divided in 1) ontology; 2) natural theology; 3) cosmology; 4) pneumatology. Ontology deals with the being of things and their properties that are knowable and explainable a priori (CRUSIUS, 1766, p. 7). The proper subject of natural theology is God as the necessary absolute substance (CRUSIUS, 1766, p. 7). Cosmology studies the necessary laws of the physical world while pneumatology the necessary laws of the spiritual world (CRUSIUS, 1766, p. 7-8).

4 Conclusions

From an accurate examination of the teachings of metaphysics from 1703 to 1770 it is possible to say that on one hand the Albertina was a very conservative university, but on the other hand it was extremely receptive. It was conservative because the Aristotelian tradition had long lasting influence

for at least the first four decades of the 18th century. It was receptive because the professors lectured on new releases, as in the case of Wolff, Gentzken, Thümmig, and Crusius's handbooks. The readiness with which some Königsberg professors favorably reacted to the new publications is, according to Giorgio Tonelli, "a symptom, in the first place, that the Königsberg intellectuals positively responded to intellectually alert, and, in the second place, that some tensions were present (mainly involving the junior faculty members), which prompted some instructors to an almost immediate acceptance of the new creed as a group ideology" (TONELLI, 1975, p. 132). Tonelli adds, however, that "the full professors of the philosophical faculty were impervious to the new trend" (TONELLI, 1975, p. 132). This could mean not only that the professors were open to new trends, but also that the handbooks were not so important for the teaching if they were changed so frequently and that the lectures were based prevalently on dictate on a common standard knowledge, which was related to the Aristotelian-Scholastic tradition that dominated Königsberg's university for over two hundred years.

Looking at the professors, it is possible to say that until the second decade of the 18th century they were Aristotelians. Following, besides Aristotelianism, for a short period of time Eclecticism and Wolffianism co-existed. Eclecticism, which was supported by Pietists, took the leadership from the second half of the Twenties to the second half of the Forties. After that there was a important return to Wolffianism.

This chronology confirms Tonelli's argumentations on the long survival of Aristotelianism in Königsberg at least up to 1725 with the leadership of Johann Jakob Quandt (TONELLI, 1975, p. 127-128). Between 1715 and 1740, Aristotelian, Eclectic, and Wolffian philosophies fought to extend their hegemony in the faculty of philosophy. Between 1715 and 1724 in Königsberg there was born a unusual coalition between Pietists and Wolffians against the Aristotelian conservatism, which culminated in 1725 when Wilhelm I nominated the pietist Gottfried Friedrich Rogall as full professor at the faculty of theology. In 1726 Rogall with Heinrich Lysius introduced a university reform in conformity with Pietism, against Wolffianism, which was substantially banished until 1740 when Friedrich II became king (TONELLI, 1975, p. 129).

Wolffianism was never a dominant metaphysical movement in Königsberg's university, in fact, no professor could declare himself truly a Wolffian scholar and no Wolffians became full professor in the chair of logic and metaphysics (POZZO, 2008, p. 182). Moreover the banishment of Wolffian philosophy by Pietists in a pietist university had to have an impact in the teaching.

In addition two of the four professors who were very close to Kant, Kypke and Teske, defined themselves as Aristotelians, while, the other two professors, Marquardt and Knutzen, were very well educated in Aristotelian philosophy, even if they addressed their interests toward more eclectic positions.

In the light of those elements, it is not surprising that during his university years Kant received an eclectic education and broad knowledge of different metaphysical positions. The various metaphysical attempts of the pre-critical period have to be understood beginning from the different stimuli to which Kant was submitted and that he had carefully to consider before taking a serious position towards them. The study of Kant's early writings can not be separated from an investigation of their cultural context that enriches their value and justify the various Kantian perspectives.

SGARBI, Marco. A metafísica em königsberg antes de kant [1703-1770]. *Trans/Form/Ação*, (São Paulo); v.33(1), 2010, p.31-64.

RESUMO: O presente trabalho, valendo-se da metodologia da história das idéias, visa reconstruir o amplo espectro de doutrinas metafísicas às quais Kant poderia ter acesso durante os anos de formação de sua filosofia. A primeira parte trata do ensino de metafísica em Königsberg, de 1703 a 1770. A segunda parte examina as principais características da metafísica com base nos diversos manuais em uso na *Albertina*, a fim de que se tenha um panorama exaustivo de todas as posições então objeto de ensino.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Metafísica. Ecletismo. Wolffianismo. Aristotelismo. Kant. Königsberg. *Quellengeschichte*.

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